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THE COINS OF ELIS.

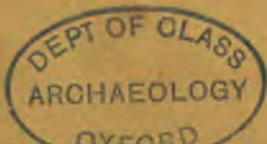
BY

PERCY GARDNER, ESQ., M.A.

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THE COINS OF ELIS.

BY PERCY GARDNER, Esq., M.A.

THE Editors of the Numismatic Chronicle have allowed me to commence in the present number a series of papers which will occasionally appear, and each of which will deal with the numismatics of some Greek province or island, or some important city. Mr. Poole and Mr. Head have promised sometimes to contribute a paper.

These papers are intended less for the highly skilled in Greek numismatics than for students of history and archaeology generally. At present these are at a great disadvantage. Students of Greek history and Greek art are generally ready to believe that they might obtain real aid from the comparison of coins if they could at their leisure examine and peruse them. But by merely passing in review the trays of a coin-cabinet they do not seem to gain much. Eckhel is, although learned, both out of date and incomplete; Mionnet's descriptions of small value, and his arrangement worthless. Nor can the scattered notices contained in more recent works be brought together without a great expenditure of time and trouble.

In the present set of papers two ideas are predominant. The first is to treat numismatics in strict subordination to history. The history of every community

treated of will be divided into periods, and to each period will be assigned its proper coins. This has already been done by Mr. Head in the case of Syracuse; and it is our purpose to treat other cities upon the same plan, if at less length. The fact is that—thanks especially to the English numismatists, as well as Dr. Imhoof-Blumer and M. Six of Amsterdam—it has during the last few years become possible to determine with far greater precision the dates of coins. We can usually arrange all the series of money issued by a Greek city in chronological sequence without much risk of very serious error, except in details. Thus, for the first time, the history of a city and its coins can be placed, so to speak, in parallel columns, each of which can be called upon to support the other; or, in some cases, the testimony of coins may refute that of the ancient historians; and thus order and system will be brought into the confused chaos of coins cited by Mionnet, and many side-lights will be opened on the connections of cities and provinces.

The second idea is to present to the reader, by means of photographic plates, as exact fac-similes of the coins as possible, in order that the eye may follow the small changes in type and fabric, which to the numismatist are so important. These the most skilled modern artist will fail to seize, and usually, while producing something agreeable in itself, will partly destroy the value and meaning of the coin as a historical witness. Our great difficulty will be in the necessarily narrow limit to the number of plates; but of those limits we will try to make the most.

Our description of coins will not, of course, be limited to the rich cabinets of the British Museum; but when

we know of other important pieces cited elsewhere, they too will be mentioned. At the same time completeness from the numismatist's point of view is less an object than to form a rational scheme or pedigree of the successive coinages of a city, into which scheme coins published in the past or to be discovered in future will naturally fit. It has also been thought well not to exclude the Imperial coinage. In the series issued by Roman emperors at the various Greek cities we often find types of great interest to the artist and historian, and sometimes inscriptions of considerable importance. In a word, the papers will be like chapters of Eckhel, but brought to the level of modern knowledge, and illustrated by plates.

Of course we lay no claim to infallibility. In the classing of individual coins there are many causes, such as bad preservation of specimens or false analogies, which may lead us astray. Whole classes we may sometimes place under the wrong period. All we hope is to secure, on the whole, an advance on what has gone before in the case of each city which we discuss; and to afford a safe platform from which future writers may take their start in attempting to improve on our work in its turn.

ELIS.

The first district which I propose to discuss is the interesting one of Elis; of which the coins are in beauty and variety not inferior to any in Greece.

Combining the statements of historians with the results of numismatic study, I would propose to divide the

history of Elis in ancient times into the following fifteen periods:—

I. Before about B.C. 471.	Aristocracy; Spartan alliance.
II. B.C. 471—421.	Democracy; Spartan alliance.
III. B.C. 421—about 400.	Argive alliance.
IV. B.C. about 400—365.	Spartan and Theban alliances.
V. B.C. 365—362.	War with Arcadians.
VI. B.C. 362—348.	Coins of Pisa.
VII. B.C. 348—323.	Spartan alliance.
VIII. B.C. 323—312.	Macedonian alliance.
IX. B.C. 312.	Dependence on Macedon.
X. B.C. 312—271.	Telesphorus.
XI. B.C. about 271.	Precarious autonomy.
XII. B.C. 271—191.	Aristotimus.
XIII. B.C. 191—146.	Tyrants; Aetolian alliance.
XIV. B.C. 146—48.	Achaean alliance.
XV. B.C. 48—217 A.D.	Under the Romans.
	Imperial coinage.

PERIOD I.—BEFORE B.C. 471.

According to Greek belief the earliest inhabitants of Elis were of a race kindred to the Aetolian. The chief city of the district was Pisa, which lay close to the sanctuary of the Olympic Zeus. Olympia and Pisa had from the earliest times been connected together in myth and history. Both were concerned with the story which attributed the foundation of the Olympic festival to Heracles; and when Pelops came to the country which was to bear his name, he found Oenomaüs, King of Pisa, as supreme ruler in the district. In the chariot-race of Pelops and Oenomaüs we may see the foreshadowing of future Olympian contests.

To Pisa, then, at an early period, belonged the cult of the Olympian Zeus, and the right of presiding at the games which the Greeks traced back far beyond the first his-

torical Olympiad into the mist of the past. It was variously said that the gods had contended at the first celebration of the festival; or that Heracles had won in every competition.

When the Dorians invaded Peloponnese they assigned the district of Elis to Oxylus and his Aetolians. He was said to be of kindred race with the people; nevertheless, there seems to have been constant feud between Pisa, which appears to have continued as the ancient capital of the district, and the new city, or rather fortress, of Elis, fortified by Oxylus at a considerable distance to the north of Olympia, at the spot where the Peneius breaks forth from the Arcadian hills.

When the invaders had attained a sure footing in Elis, they soon managed to secure to themselves the presidency of the Olympic games; and under their presidency the games gained wider and wider fame, until they were one of the chief bonds which held Hellas together, and until the great deity of Olympia was recognised as the father of the gods and of Hellenic men.

Thrice did the people of Pisa, profiting by their nearness to Olympia, and the necessities of the Eleans, succeed in wresting from them for a short time the coveted presidency: once when they were supported by the powerful Pheidon of Argos; and once when the Spartans, the close allies of the Eleans, were occupied with the second Messenian war. Of the third occasion I shall have to speak presently. But the Eleans gained the upper hand more and more, and about the 52nd Olympiad, Pisa was finally worsted, and disappears from history for the time.

From this period (B.C. 570) dates the prosperity of the people of Elis. Their stronghold was on the banks of the Peneius, but the people were spread by villages and farms

over the fertile plain, and led a country life, rich in flocks, herds, and corn-fields. The government was an aristocracy, as usually happened in the plains of Greece; the country was quiet and wealthy, and regarded by all Greece as sacred to the deity of Olympus, so that it escaped for ages all hostile ravages.

The next landmark offered us is afforded in or about the year B.C. 471, when the constitution of the country was modified in a democratic direction, and the inhabitants of several villages drawn together to people a new city on the slopes below the old Acropolis on the Peneius, which, however, was still maintained as a fortress. Curtius reckons the settling of the new Elis as one of the most important of Greek establishments, and a landmark in Peloponnesian history.

Before the building of new Elis the Eleans had begun to strike coins. Of these there is no class with the mere punch-mark on the reverse; indeed, there is no class which we can with confidence assign to the period before the Persian wars. Elis was behind Argos and Sicyon in the adoption of a coinage. But there are a few pieces in a thoroughly archaic style, which we may give to the period B.C. 500—471.

As the land of Elis was sacred to Zeus, and derived its honour from its close connection with the Olympic festival, so every piece of money the Eleans issued in early times bore the effigy or the symbols of their Zeus, and contained allusions to the games.

Professor Curtius remarks, with complete justice, that Zeus was worshipped at Olympia under a twofold aspect: first, as god of sky and weather, under which aspect he received the epithets *ἰέτιος* and *καταιβάτης*; secondly, as the lord and giver of victory.

The former is the more natural and usual aspect of Zeus among the Greeks. Both in Messenia and Arcadia Zeus was worshipped on lofty hills, the spots of earth which are most tempest-beaten, and most often shrouded in cloud. On Mount Ithome, Mount Lyceius, Mount Olympus, the cloud-compelling deity sat enshrouded in mist, uttering a voice of thunder, and sending out lightnings to lighten the world and rain to refresh it. On a late coin of Ephesus we have a representation of Zeus thus seated on Mount Prion pouring rain on the city of the Ephesians. Such a character also attaches to the most primitive Zeus of Greece, the god of Dodona, who dwelt amid the stormy hills of Epirus, and whose priests, the Selli, slept on the ground and washed not their feet. The well-known lines of Homer, which describe the nod of Zeus,—

*ἦ, καὶ κυανέῃσιν ἐπ' ὄφρουσι νεῦσε Κρονίων
ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χεῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἀνακτος
κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο, μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὀλυμπον—*

lines which Phidias is said to have tried to embody in the great statue which he designed for Olympia, were really a perfect expression of the feeling of the people of Elis with regard to the god. But every reader of these lines must feel that they are but a poetical way of expressing a thunderstorm, when the hair of the god seems to float out, and the earth to shake at his presence.

The most appropriate symbol of the god of weather is the thunderbolt; and on the coins of Elis this is, perhaps, the most constant type. From the point of view of art, it is perhaps to be regretted that the able artists of Elis had to spend their strength on a subject which could never be satisfactorily treated. In their treatment of the heads of Zeus and Hera, of the eagle and other types, we

see a continuous progress, and a mirror is held up to contemporary art. We shall see as we proceed in how many ways the coins of a period help us to determine the character of its plastic art. But in treating the thunderbolt art cannot progress. It can represent its wings better and better, but the thing itself defies study. Hence we find at later periods (Period IV., 7, 11; Period V., 6, 8, for instance) occasional returns to a more primitive type. When the art of Elis became quite mature, in the middle of the fourth century, it finally abandoned the unfruitful attempt, and henceforth the thunderbolt disappears for a time from the coinage.

The eagle, whose nest is built among the lofty mountain crags, is also a natural type of Zeus the Cloud-gatherer; and when he appears on the coins of Elis, flying, may be so regarded; but when he is struggling with a serpent, or tearing a hare, he symbolises Zeus rather in the second aspect, of which I must next speak.

Secondly, then, Zeus was regarded in Elis as the giver of victory. This is a far less materialistic view of the deity, and really belongs to the Hellenes, while the god of weather may well be pre-Hellenic. Already, in the *Iliad*, Zeus is the great dispenser of Victory; and when he promises Thetis that for a time she shall incline towards the Trojans, the matter is settled, and all Olympus cannot alter it. And in far earlier times than those of the *Iliad*, *Vaiśvámitra* cries, appealing to Indra, the Indian Zeus, "Indra, protected by thee, wielder of the club, may we with thee lift the thunderbolt, and with thee vanquish our foes in battle."¹ This passage will show how ancient and how easy is the metamorphosis

¹ Rig Veda, translated by Ludwig, sec. 447.

of a god of thunder into a giver of victory. Traces of such metamorphosis clearly appear also in the lines of Hesiod,—

*μέγα δ' ἔκτυπε μηρίατα Ζεύς,
σῆμα τιθεὶς πολέμοιο ἐφ' μεγαθαροσεί παιδί.²*

Thus the thunderbolt is very appropriate to the god of victory. Still more appropriate is the type of the eagle carrying or tearing the prey, for it is well known that among the Greeks the appearance of an eagle carrying an animal in a battle to either host was to it a sure sign of victory; but if the prey escaped, of defeat impending. In the twelfth book of the Iliad, when Hector and Polydamas are about to storm the Greek camp, an eagle appears bearing a serpent in his claws. But the serpent turns on his captor: ³—

*κόψε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔχοντα κατὰ στήθος παρὰ δειρήν
ιδνωθεὶς ὀπίσω· ὃ δ' ἀπὸ ἔθεν ἦκε χαμᾶζε
ἀλγήσας ὀδύνησι.*

The wounded eagle drops the serpent, which falls among the Trojans. Polydamas at once assumes that the omen comes direct from Zeus, *Διὸς τέρας αἰγιόχοιο*, and that its meaning is, that though the Trojans may press their foes hard, it shall not be given to them to be completely victorious. In the eighth book, on the other hand, when the Greeks are very hard pressed, Agamemnon prays to Zeus that they may not be utterly destroyed, and the god hears his prayer, and sends, as a sign of his favour, an eagle bearing a fawn,—

*αὐτίκα δ' αἰετὸν ἦκε, τελειότατον πετεηνῶν,
νεβρὸν ἔχοντ' οἰνύχεσσι—*

² Shield of Heracles, l. 888; cf. Odys. xxi. 418.

³ Il., xii. 204.

whereat the Achaeans are so encouraged that they return to the charge and the battle is renewed. In this case the prey of the eagle is a fawn; on the coins of Elis it is usually either a hare or a serpent. The latter is often violently resisting his captor; indeed sometimes he appears to be about to strangle the eagle. Both hare and serpent live in nests or holes in the ground, and it is perhaps scarcely fanciful to see, in their destruction by the eagle, the victory of light, represented by the bird of the sun, over darkness and night. But sometimes in the place of these chthonic creatures we find the ram; and sometimes the eagle stands on the head of a stag. What the stag may mean I know not, but the ram may not impossibly stand for cloud and mist, as do both ram and sheep in some Greek mythological tales. On another coin (Period IV. 3) we find a lizard in juxtaposition to the head of an eagle. The presence of this creature has been ingeniously explained by M. Duchalais.⁴ He suggests that the lizard is the equivalent of the serpent, and that both are really representations of Typhon and the serpent-footed giants. A bandit or giant named Saurus is said in the local myth to have infested the crags bordering on the sacred road to Olympia from Heraea and Arcadia, and to have been there destroyed by Heracles, founder of the festival. Certainly if the Greeks intended an allusion to the destruction of Saurus, it is quite in keeping with their mode of representation to place a lizard (*σαῦρος*) on their coin as vanquished by the eagle.

Sometimes we find the eagle standing on an Ionic column, which seems to stand for the meta in the Olym-

⁴ Revue Numismatique for 1852.

pian hippodrome. In this case the agonistic meaning of the type is clear. It will be remembered that the rising of the eagle from the altar in the hippodrome was the sign for the chariots to start.

But, of course, as soon as the Greeks began to personify victory, Nike herself at once became the most appropriate of all types of Zeus. On the coins of Elis she appears in many attitudes; at first running to crown a victor, in later times standing or seated in more contemplative mood. Throughout the coinage Nike seems to be the Victory of the games rather than Victory in war, although as the Greeks practised war before they practised games, she was no doubt at first associated with the more serious contest. But the close connection of the Elean coins with the Olympic games is enough to show that our Nike is always agonistic, with one possible exception, of which I must speak under Period IV.

The olive-wreath which is so usual on the coins, which Zeus wears on his head and Nike carries in her hand, is of course the "crown of wild olive" of world-wide fame, the only meed of the victor in the games. It was first bestowed in the sixth historic Olympiad, in consequence of an oracle. In the Altis, near the altar of Aphrodite and the Horae, stood the sacred tree *ἐλαία καλλιστέφανος*. From it a boy, both of whose parents were alive, and who thus could have never known deep grief, cut with a golden knife as many sprays as there were contests to be held, and of each spray a wreath was made. The wreaths were laid in a brazen tripod, and one of the Hellanodicae put them on the heads of the victors. As an epitome or symbol of the wreath of olive, an olive-leaf sometimes appears in the field on coins; and is even in some cases entwined in the thunderbolt.

Of other coin-types, the head of Hera, that of the nymph Olympia, and so forth, I will speak in order as they appear.

As the Olympic festival was not merely religious and athletic, but attended by a great concourse from all the ends of Hellas, and was, in fact, a fair or market for the exchange of commodities, it is more than probable that the coins of Elis were issued in greater quantities at that period for the convenience of commerce, and in order that visitors might take away with them some memorial of the feast. More care was bestowed on them than elsewhere, and the types constantly change, facts which indicate that they were used rather in the place of striking than abroad. Cities whose coin had extensive circulation, like Athens and Corinth, retained invariable types. But we have no special reason to think that the issue of coins at Elis was at all confined to the occasions of the festival. A circumstance not a little remarkable is that in the course of the wonderfully complete excavations recently carried on by the German Government at Olympia very few fine or large coins of Elis have been found. Dr. Weil has kindly informed me that of the coins found most have been Byzantine, but a certain number of small silver and copper of Elis have been among them. Probably the chief reason of this is that there was no city at Olympia, only an occasional encampment. In cities the people used to bury coins in hoards; at the festival they were only likely occasionally to let one fall.

The weights of the coins of Elis give us no clue to their arrangement; and indeed are so uniform throughout that I have deemed it unnecessary for the present pur-

pose to record them. The full weight of the didrachm is 190 grains (grammes 12·3); the drachm weighs 90 grains (gr. 5·8); the hemidrachm 45 grains (gr. 2·9); the obol 15 grains (gr. 1). This system of weights endures almost without variation from the earliest times until after the middle of the third century B.C. At that time the didrachm sinks a little—to about 185 grains (gr. 12); the drachm still more to about 70 (gr. 4·5), and the hemidrachm to 36 (gr. 2·3). The hemidrachms struck at a still later period, when Elis was a member of the Achaean league, seem to sink from 38 to 30 grains (gr. 2·5 to 1·9). The Eleans, therefore, seem uniformly to have adhered to the standard called the Aeginetan. The origin of this standard is quite obscure, the theory of Brandis on the subject being very fanciful; but it is enough for our present purpose that it was in use throughout Peloponnesus from very early times.

The inscription on the coins of Elis is from the earliest period **FA** or **FAAEION**; **Ω** first makes its appearance about B.C. 365; **HAEIΩN** does not occur until Imperial times.

The use of the digamma caused the older numismatists, and even Eckhel, to give the coins of Elis to Faleria in Italy. The credit for pointing out the error belongs to the munificent benefactor of the British Museum, Richard Payne Knight. Strange to say, Eckhel tries at length to prove him wrong.

It is impossible to discriminate between the coins of Period I. and Period II., as there is no change in standard or type, and style of course changes gradually. An approximate division for purposes of convenience will be all that can be attempted.

1. *Obv.*—Eagle flying to left or right, struggling with serpent which twines round his body.

Rev.—**FA**, **FA**, or **FA** (retrog.). Thunderbolt with wings at one end and volutes at the other; in round incuse.

Didrachm, hemidrachm, obol.

2. *Obv.*—**FAAEION**, **FAAEI**, or (usually) no inscription. Eagle flying to left or right, struggling with serpent or tearing hare; sometimes holding nothing.

Rev.—**FA**, **FA** (retrog.), or **AF** (retrog.) Nike running to right or left, holding in one hand a wreath, the other sometimes raises her dress; in round incuse.

Didrachm, drachm, hemidrachm.

Countermarks: bearded male head, wheel, &c.

During this period the wings of both eagle and Nike are represented as stretched one on each side of the body; in the drapery of Nike stiff parallel lines prevail, dots and straight lines in the wings; Nike is clad in a long chiton with sleeves, but wears no outer garment.

PERIOD II.—B.C. 471—421.

During this period the people of Elis stood firmly by the Lacedaemonian alliance which had hitherto brought them so much advantage. To the Eleans, who were peaceable, the countenance of the strongest military power in Greece was invaluable; indeed, without it they could not have kept down the subject cities, as the sequel will show. The Spartans, on the other hand, gained by the alliance the advantage of appearing as the soldiers of Zeus; and a people like the Eleans, who dwelt scattered in farms and villages, were quite to their taste.

At this time, that is to say, between the Persian and

Peloponnesian Wars, the Eleans had a serious dispute with the Lepreates of Triphylia. This people, according to Thucydides,⁵ called in the assistance of the people of Elis in a war which they were waging with some Arcadians, offering them, in return for their assistance, the half of their own lands. The Eleans made them pay, either in addition to forfeiting the stipulated land or in the place of it, yearly, a talent to the Olympian Zeus. Dr. Ernst Curtius⁶ supposes, and with much reason, that for or by the Lepreates, who were thus made tributary to the god, the coin was issued (*infra*, No. 1), which bears the inscription Ὀλυμπικόν only, νόμισμα being understood, and not, so far as appears, the name of the Eleans at all. He considers the new inscription as one intended to soothe the pride of the Lepreates, and to save them from feeling like mere tributaries. However this might be, the Lepreates soon grew tired of their position, and manifest henceforth deep dislike towards their patron-state.

In the Zeus of Nos. 2 and 3 *infra*, we see a gradual approach to the type perpetuated by the chisel of Phidias. On No. 2 we have the god seated on a throne; but the fact that the eagle is flying and has left his hand is in itself sufficient to show that we have here no exact copy of the statue of Zeus at Olympia before Phidias' time: of course, in sculpture this arrangement would be impossible. On No. 3 we have an entirely original figure of the god of great merit, and bearing every mark of a master's hand. In this case he is seated on a mountain, conventionally represented, according to Greek custom, as a rock. The other coins of the period bear the symbols of Zeus—an eagle, or a thunderbolt.

⁵ V. 31.

⁶ Zeitsch. f. Numism., ii. 235.

1. *Obv.*—Eagle flying to left, struggling with serpent.

Rev.—**ΟΛΥΜΠΙΚΟΝ** (retrogr.). Zeus naked striding to right, holds in right hand thunderbolt, in left eagle; in square incuse.

Didrachm, Photiades Pacha.

This reverse type identical with that of the coins of Messenia of the time of Epaminondas, but the style earlier.

2. *Obv.*—Zeus seated to left on throne, holds in right hand a thunderbolt, in left a sceptre; before him an eagle flying.

Rev.—**ΦΑΛΕΙΟΝ** (boustroph.). Eagle flying to left; in square incuse.

Didrachm, B.M.

This obverse type identical with that of the early coins of Arcadia.

3. *Obv.*—Zeus seated to left on rock, clad in himation, which is wrapped round his left arm; in his right hand an eagle; sceptre rests against rock.

Rev.—**ΦΑΛΕ** (retrogr.). Eagle flying to left struggling with serpent; in square incuse.

Didrachm, B.M.

The obverse type bears a close resemblance to the figure of Zeus in the frieze of the Parthenon.

4. *Obv.*—**ΦΑΛΕΙΟΝ** (boustroph.). Eagle flying to left.

Rev.—**Φ Α**. Nike facing, holding untied wreath in both hands.

Didrachm.

5. *Obv.*—Eagle flying to right struggling with serpent, or flying to left holding hare.

Rev.—**Φ Α Λ Ε** (so or retrogr.). Nike running to left, clad in chiton and himation, holding wreath in outstretched right hand; in incuse square.

Didrachm.

6. *Obv.*—Eagle standing to left, flapping his wings over dead hare.

Rev.—**Φ Α Λ Ε**. Nike facing, holding in one hand untied wreath, in the other long palm; in incuse square.

Didrachm, B.M.

7. *or Rev.*—**FAEION**. Nike seated to right on square base, holding wreath in right hand, her left raised to her head; in incuse square.

Didrachm, Stift S. Florian, Dr. Imhoof-Blumer.

8. *Obv.*—Eagle flying to right, holding hare in his talons.

Rev.—**F]A**. Nike seated to left on square base; she holds in her right hand a wreath (?); her left rests on the base.
Didrachm, B.M.

9. *Obv.*—Eagle flying to right, tearing hare.

Rev.—**FA**. Thunderbolt; sometimes olive-leaf in field; in incuse square.
Didrachm, drachm, hemidrachm, obol.

10. *Obv.*—Eagle flying to right or left, tearing hare.

Rev.—**FA** or **FA** (retrogr.). Thunderbolt; in round incuse.
Didrachm, drachm, hemidrachm.

11. *Obv.*—Eagle standing to right with wings spread, looking back.

Rev.—**FA**. Thunderbolt; in round incuse.
Hemidrachm, obol.

12. *Obv.*—Head of eagle to left.

Rev.—**F** in incuse square.
Hemidrachm, Dr. Imhoof-Blumer.

Countermarks, bearded head to right, of transitional style, rosette or wheel.

The coins of this period differ a great deal in style one from another; the eagle of No. 10 is of freer style; the Zeus of No. 3, and the Nike of Nos. 4, 5, 7 are decidedly in the style of transition. These figures are beautifully executed, great care being especially bestowed on the drapery; but the attitudes have something of archaic stiffness, the figures are thick, and the heads large.

PERIOD III.—B.C. 421—400.

In 421 B.C., after the peace of Nicias, the Eleans deserted for the first time the Spartan alliance, the foundation of which was attributed to Lycurgus and Iphitus. They now joined the league of Argos and Mantinea, and, with the bitterness of renegades, soon found a pretext for fining the Spartans heavily for an alleged violation of the sacred truce. The Spartans refused to pay the fine, and were in B.C. 420 expelled from the great festival. A Spartan named Lichas, who had entered a chariot for the race, was obliged to make it over to the Boeotians; and on his imprudently advancing to congratulate the charioteer on his victory, was rudely beaten by the *ραβδόχοι*. In 418 the Eleans fought on the Argive side at the battle of Mantinea. It was not at the moment convenient for the Lacedaemonians to punish their aggressors; but we shall see that they did so before long.

The great deity of the Argives was from the remotest times Hera. Already in Homer Hera declares her partiality for the city: and at the great Heraeum, which stood outside the city, Polycletus just at this period set up a statue of Hera, which was the rival of Phidias' Zeus at Olympia. The Eleans also had their temple of Hera, and had worshipped her from ancient times. Curtius observes that this cult of Hera belonged specially to the people of Elis, but the cult of Zeus to all Greece. The Heraeum stood in the Altis at Olympia. Peloponnesian girls ran races in honour of the goddess, and every Olympiad two women were chosen from each tribe of the people of Elis to weave her a peplos. We cannot doubt that in the worship of Hera the Argives and Eleans found a tie. Thus it is instructive to find that precisely at this

period both cities begin to place on their coin a head of Hera wearing a stephanos adorned with flowers, the types of the two coinages being in most respects alike, save that the Argeian is badly executed.⁷ For the new type the people of Argos abandon Apollo and the wolf; and the people of Elis, Zeus and the eagle.

There can, I think, be little doubt of my correctness in the placing of the coins of Period III. The largeness of feature and majesty of expression of the goddess seem to belong clearly to the age of Phidias and Polycletus. Coin engravers at this early period did not copy works of statuary, but they must necessarily have had them before their minds. We always find a similarity of style between statuary and coins of the same period; so, although it were absurd to suppose that the head of the great statue at Argos must in details have resembled the head of Hera on the coins of Elis and Argos, yet it is likely that they give us a better general idea of its character than more intentional imitations of a later and baser time. As a sure indication of the early period of our coins, I would call attention to the fact that the eye of Hera on them is represented as half facing the spectator, though the head is in exact profile. In the heads of Period V. the eye is still slightly turned outwards; it

⁷ Many of the Argive didrachms may belong to the period after 400, but some appear to me to have been struck before that date, especially those which have the forms **O** for **Ω** and **R** for **P**. The largeness of the features of Hera, and the simplicity of her hair, seem to denote an early period for the commencement of the Argive coin. The flowers on the stephanos of the goddess seem to belong specially to the Argive deity as *Ἥρα ἀρθεια*. In the statue of Polycletus the stephanos of Hera was adorned with the Horae and Charites, and of these flowers are a most appropriate emblem.

is not until we reach the age of Praxiteles (Period VI.) that we find the eye quite correctly in profile.

The head of Zeus (No. 1 *infra*) is clearly of the same period as the heads of Hera. We have the same large features and the same air of quiet majesty. This head belongs to the age of Phidias; and although it is not directly a copy of the head of the great statue, it may, perhaps, serve in some respects to give us a better notion of it than the formal and intentional copy of the age of Hadrian, of which we will speak below (Period XV.).

1. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus to right, laureate.

Rev.—**FA**. Thunderbolt, within olive-wreath.

Didrachm, B.M.

2. *Obv.*—Head of Hera to right, wearing tall stephanos, adorned with conventional flowers; the letters **H P A** sometimes either above or on the stephanos.

Rev.—**FA**. Thunderbolt, without wings, within olive-wreath. Didrachm, drachm, hemidrachm.

3. Similar, without wreath on reverse.

Hemidrachm, obol.

PERIOD IV.—B.C. 400—365.

In the course of this period Elis abandoned the Argive alliance for one with the Spartans, and afterwards the Thebans, Thebes being then at the zenith of her short-lived power under Epaminondas. It was, according to Clinton and Grote, about the year B.C. 400 that the Spartan king, Agis, formally took in hand the punishment of the Eleans for the insults and injuries they had inflicted on the Spartans. Xenophon,⁸ who gives the most

⁸ Hellen. iii. 2, 21—80.

complete account we possess of the war, says that in the first campaign Agis penetrated some distance into the territory of Elis, but, being alarmed by an earthquake, retired. In the second campaign he occupied Olympia, and advanced to the gates of Elis; but for some reason did not choose to assault the city. A party of the people of Elis under Xenias meditated a treacherous revolt in his favour, but was expelled by the democratic or patriotic party under Thrasydaeus. On this Agis retired, leaving only a small force under a leader named Lysippus to occupy a fort in Elean territory, and, in conjunction with Xenias and his exiles, to lay the territory waste. So much were the Eleans harassed by this body of troops that they sent to Sparta, and made peace on the terms that they should surrender their fleet to the Spartans and give autonomy to their subject cities in Triphylia. The presidency of the festival they were allowed to retain. As to the results of the war and the terms of peace Diodorus⁹ confirms Xenophon, but he adds that the Spartans met with a decided repulse at Elis itself. Pausanias, in his third book,¹⁰ gives an account of the whole war exactly coinciding with Xenophon's, save that he calls the Spartan captain Lysistratus instead of Lysippus. But in the fifth book¹¹ we get quite a different story. There he says that during this very war, as is proved by the mention of the names of Thrasydaeus and Xenias, the Eleans defeated Agis in a great battle at Olympia, and drove his forces out of the sacred *temenos*. Again, in the sixth book,¹² Pausanias mentions as existing at Olympia a trophy erected by the Eleans to commemorate their victory over

⁹ xiv. 34; xiv. 17.

¹⁰ iii. 8, 4.

¹¹ v. 4, 8.

¹² vi. 2, 8. The words are—*Δαίδαλος Σικνώνιος, ὃς καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ Λακωνικῇ νικῆ τὸ ἐν τῇ ἄλτει τρόπαιον ἐποίησεν Ἕλαιοις.*

the Spartans, and executed by Daedalus of Sicyon, whom we know to have been at this period busy at Olympia. Amidst this contradictory evidence it seems safest to suppose that the Eleans did win a real victory over Agis, of which Xenophon in his partisan spirit¹³ says nothing, for the existence of the trophy cannot be disputed. But the terms of peace must have been favourable to Sparta, for the people of Elis were no match in war for the Lacedaemonians. This discussion is quite necessary for the understanding of the coinage of the period. I believe myself justified on grounds of style in giving to this time a series of pieces in which the old eagle and thunderbolt types are revived, though with far greater mastery over style; such a mastery as we cannot suppose to have existed before the fourth century. And in some of these coins there seems to be allusion to victory won. The seated Nike (No. 1) looks like a reminiscence of a trophy such as that set up by Daedalus. The fine, spirited eagle which is fighting with a serpent (No. 7) looks like the symbol of a city which has won a hard-fought field. The coins, which are fashioned both on obverse and reverse to imitate a buckler bearing the national arms, seem to hint that the shields of Elis have lately been victorious.

And I have a further discovery to communicate, which may, indeed, only indicate a coincidence; but if so the coincidence is very remarkable. In the field of No. 7 (obverse) are the letters ΔA . The same letters appear on a leaf below the type of No. 2 (obv.). These letters must commence the name of an artist who engraved the coin,

¹³ It is well known that Xenophon minimises all Spartan defeats, and even passes by in silence the foundation of Megalopolis by Epaminondas, and the restoration of the Messenians.

for we have few or no magistrates' names on the coins of Elis until the third century; nor do Greek magistrates place their names actually *on* the type or symbol of a coin. Coin engravers, on the contrary, do so, as is very well known; and it is precisely at the beginning of the fourth century that the signatures of coin engravers are most frequent on coins. Can the ΔA , whose name appears here, be Daedalus himself? I do not dare to answer this question positively in the affirmative, for I know well that there is no recorded instance of a Greek sculptor having executed coin-dies, though if we look to the Renaissance we find that great painters, sculptors, and goldsmiths, such as Albert Dürer and Vittore Pisano, engraved moulds for medals, and Francia and Cellini made the dies of coins. Also it will be objected that ΔA is not a likely contraction for $\Delta α ἰ δ α λ ο ς$; $\Delta A I$ would certainly be more usual. But, on the other hand, the group of No. 7 and the eagle's head of No. 2 are fully worthy of a great sculptor; and we know for certain that at precisely the period to which I assign these coins Daedalus was busy at Olympia; and for Eleans. He not only executed in the 95th Olympiad (about B.C. 400) the trophy of which I have already spoken, but also set up¹⁴ statues of Eupolemus of Elis, who won a race in the 96th Olympiad; and of Aristodemus of Elis, who received a prize for wrestling in the 98th Olympiad. Finally, we have on coins **BO** for Βοιωτῶν and **MA** for Μαυσσῶλλον .

On the whole I must consider that I have raised a question which we are at present unable to decide, but which is worthy the attention of both numismatists and archæologists. If it were Daedalus who engraved the two

¹⁴ Brunn, Geschichte der Gr. Künstler, i. p. 278.

signed coins, I should certainly attribute to him also the very beautiful seated figure of Nike (No. 1), and be inclined to see in it a reminiscence of the trophy which he executed and erected in the Altis. The ΓO on No. 4 may also stand for an engraver's name. It recurs under Period VII. One naturally thinks, though without reason, of the younger Polycleetus.

1. *Obv.*—Eagle flying to right, attacking with his beak a hare which he holds in his claws.

Rev.—**FA**. Nike seated to left on base consisting of two steps; she is clad in a chiton, and a himation rests on her knees; in her right hand is a palm, her left rests on the base; beneath the latter is an olive-twig.
Didrachm.

2. *Obv.*—Eagle's head to left; beneath, leaf, on which in well-preserved specimens the letters ΔA .

Rev.—**FA**. Winged thunderbolt within olive-wreath.
Didrachm, hemidrachm, obol.

3. *Obv.*—Eagle's head to right; beneath, lizard.

Rev.—**FA**. Unwinged thunderbolt; entwined with the volutes at one end, olive-leaves.
Drachm, B.M.

4. *Obv.*—Eagle's head to right or left; below it, in some instances, **F** or ΓO (Gréau Collection).

Rev.—**FA**. Winged thunderbolt within olive-wreath.

5. *or Rev.*—**FA**. Winged thunderbolt.

6. *or Rev.*—**FA**. Unwinged thunderbolt.

Hemidrachm, obol.

7. *Obv.*— ΔA . Eagle standing erect, struggling with serpent, whom he holds with his claw and seizes with his beak.

Rev.—**FA**. Winged thunderbolt; cable border.
Didrachm, B.M.

8. *Obv.*—Eagle flying to left, struggling with serpent.
Rev.—**FA**. Thunderbolt with wide-spread wings within square of dots. Didrachm, B.M.
9. *Obv.*—Eagle flying to right, attacking hare, which it holds in its beak.
Rev.—**FAΛEON** (*sic*). Winged thunderbolt, adorned at one end with floral pattern. Didrachm, B.M.
10. *Obv.*—Eagle to left, standing on prostrate ram and tearing him.
Rev.—**FA** (*retrogr.*). Thunderbolt with eagle's wings. Didrachm, Dr. Imhoof-Blumer.
11. *Obv.*—Eagle to right, standing on hare and tearing him; the whole reduced into circular form.
Rev.—**FA**. Winged thunderbolt within olive-wreath. Didrachm.
12. *or Rev.*—**FA**. Winged thunderbolt. Hemidrachm.
13. *Obv.*—Eagle standing on serpent and tearing him; the whole group as device of a circular shield. Sometimes a ram in place of the serpent.
Rev.—**FA**. Unwinged thunderbolt represented as in the concave side of the same shield; sometimes the rim and handles of the shield represented. Sometimes the thunderbolt has furled wings, and of the letters **FA** one or both are incuse. Didrachm.

N.B.—The fabric of these pieces (13) is peculiar. The blanks on which they were struck were evidently cast in small circular chambers, from one to another of which a passage was cut for the course of the metal. At the sides of the coins still remain traces of such casting in series. The incuse letters and countermarks (*bipennis*, &c.) are also noteworthy.

In this period both eagle and thunderbolt are treated with far greater freedom and variety.

Contemporary with the above are probably the following:—

14. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus to right, bound with taenia.

Rev.—**FAA**. Three **T**'s ranged triangularly round a central point.

Tritartemoron. Weight, 7·7 grains. Berlin, from Fox Collection.

15. *or Rev.*—Three **T**'s as above: no inscription.

16. *Obv.*—Eagle's head to right.

Rev.—**T**.

Tetartemoron.

Nos. 15 and 16 are from the descriptions of M. Lam-bros (*Zeitschr. f. Num.*, ii., 175-6). Their attribution to Elis, although probable, is not certain. They belong to a series of coins issued in various cities of Peloponnese during the fourth century before our æra and bearing marks of value. **T** stands for tetartemoron, or the fourth part of an obol, and the three **T**'s for three tetartemoria. The attribution of No. 14, which bears an inscription, is safe; but the piece presents many peculiarities, the head of Zeus, for example, being without wreath.

PERIOD V. B.C. 365—362.

As allies of Epaminondas the Eleans hailed his appearance in Peloponnese; and aided him in his victorious march to the gate of Sparta. But their ingratitude to their old allies at Lacedaemon was followed by a speedy Nemesis. The Arcadians, whom it had been the policy of Epami-nondas to restore as a nation under the presidency of

Mantineia, no sooner felt their strength than they resolved to restore the city of Pisa, and in conjunction with the Pisatae to assume the presidency of the Olympic festival. Their quarrel with the Eleans arose from the claim of these to the lordship of the semi-Arcadian Triphylia. The approach of the 104th Olympiad brought matters to a head. The Arcadians and Pisatae advanced and occupied the Cronion, a hill close to the Altis. With great valour the troops of Elis attacked them in the midst of the festival, but were beaten off, and the remainder of the contests passed off without their reappearance. The Pisatae even dared to seize some of the temple-treasures, and convert them into coin for the hire of mercenaries. Then came the reaction. The conscience of Greece was shocked at the sacrilege. Most of the Arcadian cities, Mantinea taking the lead, restored so much of the treasure as they could lay hands on, disclaimed all share in the sacrilege, and offered to restore to Elis her presidential rights. Pisa sank back into her previous obscurity, from which she never again issued. The triumphant Eleans proclaimed their victory by refusing to reckon the festival from which they had been absent.

Dr. Ernst Curtius attributes to this period the small gold coins which bear the name of Pisa; and there can be little doubt that he is right. Style and fabric completely suit the period; and the types are such as the Pisatae would adopt in claiming the presidency of the games of Zeus (Nos. 7 and 8 *infra*); and indeed at no previous or subsequent period was Pisa likely to issue gold coin.

The contemporary coins of Elis offer us a head of Zeus (Nos. 1 and 2) of a character precisely similar to that of the Pisan coin, and a thunderbolt also of identical form (No. 6). Other types are the head of the nymph

Olympia, which appears for the first time, and an eagle standing on the meta. It is hard to see how the people of Elis could have indicated their triumph more clearly than by reproducing on their own coin the very types of the Pisatae, and adding the head of Olympia, to show that they claimed her as exclusively their own, and would endure no interference. The eagle of Elis, too, takes his stand on the meta, defying the Arcadians again to drive him out.

The attribution of coins to this period seems so easy and clear that I venture to adhere to it in spite of authorities for whom I have the greatest respect. Both Stephani and Curtius assert that the head of Zeus on these coins belongs to about the time of Phidias. To my mind the likeness it bears to the Pisan head is sufficient to make us reject this view. The head (Period III., No. 1) does belong to the age of Phidias; how vastly superior is it to this later effigy. It is true that we have not in our present coins the flowing locks of the Zeus who appears on the coins of the Arcadians; the conception is different, but not necessarily earlier. Here the eye of Zeus is neither full nor in profile, but half-way between; and in all other respects the type stands just midway between the majestic simplicity of Period III. and the ornate finish of Period VI. It is also to be observed that if we move back one of the coins of this class we must move back all; even the thunderbolt of No. 6 and the eagle within a wreath of No. 4, though the type does not occur at an earlier period.

I am also so unfortunate as to differ from Prof. Curtius in the name I give to the female head of these coins. He supposes *Ολυμπία* to be a surname of Hera, and the coin to present us with the effigy of that goddess. But

it is a general rule in numismatics to suppose that when a name appears on a coin it is rather the name than the epithet of the deity represented ; besides which I have a difficulty in supposing that Hera could appear on the Elean coin wearing a net in the place of her usual stephanos. A local nymph, on the contrary, would naturally do so. Scarcely would it be possible to find on the obverse and reverse of one coin the heads of two deities so great as Zeus and Hera ; but, under the circumstances I have described, a mere nymph might easily appear on the reverse of a coin devoted to Zeus. It is interesting to place our head beside that of the reclining nymph of the Western Olympian Pediment.

1. *Obv.*—**FAΛEΙΩN**. Head of Zeus to left, laureate.
Rev.—**ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ**. Head of the nymph Olympia to right, wearing sphenone and earring.
Didrachm, B.M.
2. *Obv.*—**FAΛEΙΩN**. Head of Zeus to left, laureate.
Rev.—Eagle to right on the capital of an Ionic column (meta).
Didrachm.
3. *or Rev.*—**FA** or **FAΛEΙΩN**. Eagle to right on meta.
Didrachm.
4. *Obv.*—**FA**. Head of nymph Olympia to right, wearing sphenone and earring.
Rev.—Eagle standing erect to left and looking back, within olive-wreath.
Didrachm, hemidrachm.
5. *or Rev.*—**FA**. Eagle standing to left and looking back.
Obol.
6. *or Rev.*—**FA**. Unwinged thunderbolt. Hemiobol.

7. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus to left, laureate.

Rev.—Π Ι Σ Α. Three half thunderbolts.
Gold. Trihemiobol, Berlin.

8. *Obv.*—As last.

Rev.—Π Ι Σ Α. Thunderbolt. Gold. Obol, B.M.

Dr. F. Kenner¹⁵ has published a silver coin exactly similar to No. 8; it may perhaps be doubted whether this is not a cast: as Dr. Kenner did not at the time know of the gold coins. With regard to the genuineness of No. 7 Dr. von Sallet tells me that Dr. Friedländer and himself have had doubts; to judge from the cast the piece seems perfectly true. The three half-fulmens contain a transparent allusion to the denomination of the coin; and its weight (24 grains) is perfect. The Ω of the inscriptions (Nos. 1—3) is like an O broken, and may in fact be intended for O.

PERIODS VI., VII. B.C. 362—343, 343—323.

After the finish of the Arcadian war we have little historical information with regard to Elis for a long period. During that war the old alliance with the Spartans had been renewed. We have reason to suppose that a period of peace and prosperity for the Eleans followed. But when Philip of Macedon was exerting himself to secure allies in the Peloponnese, the Eleans were among the first to accept his alliance and protection. Indeed the connection of Philip with Olympia was very close. It suited his policy to attract to himself one after another of the great seats of religion. In the 106th Olympiad he won the horse-race at the games, just at the

¹⁵ Num. Zeitschr, 1876, p. 1.

time of the birth of Alexander; and in memory of his victory at Chaeroneia he built the Philippeum at Olympia, a circular building, the remains of which have recently been brought to light. In the year B.C. 343 the Democratic faction at Elis, who had been expelled by the Aristocracy, took advantage of the presence at Elis of some Phocian mercenaries to attempt to reinstate themselves in the city. But they were unsuccessful, and Philip adroitly managed, by giving his protection to the leaders of the Aristocracy, to secure them in his interest. During his life the Eleans remained firm to the Macedonian alliance; and on the succession of Alexander, although they were inclined to revolt,¹⁶ were terrified into submission by the fate of Thebes. But when, after Alexander's death, all Greece rose in arms against his feebler successors, Elis was not wanting. She sent troops to fight against Antipater in what is called the Lamian war, and shared the humiliation of Hellas which followed that war.

The alliance with Philip was not of a character to affect the coinage of Elis; I therefore refrain from dividing the coins which belong to these two periods. Dr. L. Müller has proved in a most satisfactory manner¹⁷ that the states of Peloponnesus went on issuing coins with their own types until the Lamian war; and this was the period of very high excellence in numismatic art. The splendid didrachms of Arcadia, Stymphalus, and Messenia, all of which belong to the time immediately subsequent to Epaminondas, are among the finest of ancient coins. Philip's own coin is often remarkable for beauty, so is that of Alexander of Pherae, and the money issued by the Amphictionic league at the time of the Phocian

¹⁶ Diod., xvii. 8.

¹⁷ Numismatique d'Alex. le Grand, p. 228.

war. With the coins we have cited those of Elis placed under this period range perfectly. In the arrangement of the hair of Hera (Nos. 1, 2), there is a trace of archaism, but it is affected archaism and not genuine. The coins are in high relief, the faces short and full, the expression full of hauteur, the eye correctly represented in profile. The plaits of the hair are worked out in detail, and the earring most elaborate. All these peculiarities mark the art of the middle of the fourth century.

I should decidedly assign to the time of Philip (Period VII.), the coins which bear the full-faced head of a nymph. These coins are like the latest of those issued by Larissa in Thessaly, before that city was swallowed up by the power of Macedon (Nos. 7 and 8).

1. *Obv.*—**FA.** Head of Hera to right, wearing stephanos encircled with olive-wreath; her hair plaited at the back.

Rev.—Eagle standing to right, looking back, with closed wings; in olive-wreath. Didrachm, B.M.

2. *Obv.*—**FA.** Head of Hera to right, wearing stephanos adorned with flowers and marked with the letters **HPA**; her hair plaited at the back.

Rev.—Eagle standing to right or left looking back, with open wings; in olive-wreath. Didrachm.

or Rev.—Similar, without olive-wreath.

Drachm, hemidrachm.

3. *Obv.*—**FA.** Head of Hera to right, wearing stephanos adorned with flowers; hair turned up at the back.

Rev.—Eagle standing to right or left looking back, wings open or shut; all in olive-wreath.

Didrachm.

4. *or Rev.*—Sometimes the eagle stands on a stag's head, or a hare.

Didrachm, B.M., Canon Greenwell.

5. *or Rev.*—Similar, without olive-wreath.

Hemidrachm.

6. *Obv.*—**FA**. Head of Hera to right, wearing pointed stephane.

Rev.—Eagle's head to right; in olive-wreath.

Obol, B.M.

In these periods the style in which the eagle is treated is freer; he stands with spread wings and turns towards the spectator. The style of the head of Hera is very fine. The reverse type of No. 4 occurs at Croton in Italy; its meaning is obscure. On some pieces of class 5 **FAΛEIQN** appears on the stephanos. On a piece similar (Berlin Coll.) Dr. Weil reads **AAEIQN** (*Zeit. f. Num.*, 1879). On the reverse of one didrachm of class 2 or 3 the letters **ΠΟ** (engraver's name?) occur (see Thomas's Sale Catalogue, No. 1536, and above, p. 24).

7. *Obv.*—Head of nymph, slightly turned towards the left.

Rev.—Eagle standing to right; behind him caduceus; all within olive-wreath.

Drachm, Paris.

8. Similar; on reverse **FA**.

Hemidrachm, Paris.

Dr. E. Curtius has given conjecturally to Elis (Hermes, x. 242) coins which bear Corinthian types (*obv.* head of goddess helmeted; *rev.* Pegasus flying), but have, behind the head on the obverse, either the letters **FA** or an eagle carrying the prey. I doubt this attribution, partly because I consider it most unlikely that Elis would ever adopt the types of Corinth, partly because generally in the Corinthian series, the letters which mark the mint are placed beneath the Pegasus, not on the obverse of the coin, unless the name of the mint is written at length.

PERIOD VIII.—B.C. 323—312.

It is probable, as Dr. L. Müller has shown, that after the Lamian war, and the complete victory of Antipater, many states of Greece ceased to issue coin with their own types; but adopted in the place of them the types of Alexander the Great, and minted in his name. This may probably have been the case in Elis: certainly I do not find among the Elean coins any which I should be disposed to attribute to this time. Just now none of the Greek cities were really autonomous, but passed from general to general; being now dependent on Antigonus, now on Ptolemy, now on Cassander, now on Polysperchon. But the money issued by all these kings and pretenders bore the name of Alexander; it was not until the death of Aegus in 311 that any of them began to issue money in their own names.

To this period at Elis may perhaps be assigned coins bearing the types of Alexander the Great, and belonging to Class IV. in the arrangement of Müller. Among the numerous pieces assigned by this authority to Sicyon it is probable that some were issued in other cities of Peloponnesus. The basis of the classification is the discovery of a large hoard of similar pieces at Sicyon,¹⁸ and the fact that in the field of these occur many symbols not unusual on the Sicyonian coin. The class is distinguished mostly by two Victories which stand on the back of the seat of Zeus on the reverse. But there is no special reason to suppose that all the pieces alike come from the Sicyonian mint; and some bear symbols which belong rather to other cities. Nos. 894 and 895 of Müller's Peloponnesian class have a thunderbolt in the field; and these

¹⁸ Mr. Newton in the Num. Chron., vol. xvi. p. 81.

may not improbably have been issued at Elis. It is noteworthy that the coins of Philip bear a reproduction of the head of the Zeus of Olympia; those of Alexander present us with his figure at full length.

PERIOD IX.—B.C. 312.

About the year 312 an event occurred which might have had great results on the fortunes of Elis. Telesphorus,¹⁹ a general of Antigonus, the so-called King of Asia, who commanded some troops in the Peloponnese, being jealous because another general named Ptolemy (not the Egyptian king) was set over his head, revolted against his lord, and marching with his troops against Elis, occupied the city with the intention apparently of making it an independent power in the Peloponnese, and seized the temple treasures to the amount of fifty talents of silver in order to pay mercenaries. At this time it was nothing but a scramble who should secure the best slice of the empire of Alexander. Sicyon had recently become the capital of an independent kingdom; and it was quite doubtful which of the many pretenders would secure the throne of Macedon itself. However, the rule of Telesphorus soon came to an end. The general Ptolemy marched on Elis, drove Telesphorus from the Acropolis, and restored freedom to the people, and the treasures to the Olympian god. The people of Elis raised a monument to Demetrius, son of Antigonus, as their deliverer.

There are, so far as I know, no coins bearing the name of Telesphorus. Indeed, it is most unlikely that he would issue money in his own name while Alexander

¹⁹ Droysen, *Die Diadochen*, ii. p. 89. (New Edition.)

Aegus was alive. He would either coin in the name and with the types of Alexander the Great, or else use the name and types of the Eleans. Below I give a list of certain coins which may or may not have been issued by Telesphorus, but which appear to me certainly to belong to the age of Antigonus and Demetrius. They are strikingly like the coins of Euboea which are given to this period. The head of the nymph is quite Euboean, and the bunch of grapes and vine-leaf occur on coins of Euboea and its cities. But on the other hand there is no reason to suppose a connection between Telesphorus and Euboea. It must be observed that the attribution of these coins to this time is somewhat conjectural; we do not reach firm ground until we come to the tyranny of Aristotimus (Period XI.).

The leaf in the field of No. 3 (reverse) is certainly a vine-leaf. M. Duchalais, in his able paper already referred to,²⁰ started the ingenious notion that both on this coin and the beautiful piece (Period IV. 2) the leaf was of the plant *ophiostaphylum*, and was a symbolical way of representing the serpent which appears on other coins. Though M. Duchalais supports this theory with much ingenuity, it is somewhat fanciful, and the presence of the grapes on some of the coins here cited (1 and 2) must be considered a sufficient refutation of it.

1. *Obv.*—Head of a nymph (Olympia ?) to left; hair rolled.

2. *or Obv.*—**FA.** Head of Hera (?) to right, bound with broad taenia. Hunter Museum.

Rev.—**FA.** Eagle standing to left; behind him, vine-leaf and bunch of grapes. Hemidrachm.

²⁰ *Revue Num.*, 1852.

3. *Obv.*—Head of a nymph to right.
Rev.—**FA.** Eagle standing to left and looking back ;
 behind or in front vine-leaf. Obol.
4. *or Rev.*—**FA.** Eagle standing to left. Obol.
5. *Obv.*—Head of Hera to right wearing tall stephanos.
Rev.—**F.** Eagle standing to right. Obol, B.M.
6. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus to right, laureate.
Rev.—No legend. Eagle to right, looking back ; behind,
 bunch of grapes. Obol, Paris.

PERIOD X.—B.C. 312—271.

After the expulsion of Telesphorus the Eleans are said to have recovered their independence ; but it was independence of a most precarious kind, and must have repeatedly disappeared in presence of the contending armies of Polysperchon, Cassander, and Demetrius. Lack of information compels us to refrain from the attempt to trace the fortunes of Elis during these stormy times, nor would a narrative of her history, could it be written, prove very instructive. But there are facts which show that she preserved after all a certain autonomy. Thus Pausanias saw at Olympia several statues of Areus, King of Sparta, who led the memorable rising against Antigonus in 280 ; and one at least of these was dedicated by the Eleans publicly, which looks as if they had joined his cause. There was also a statue of Pyrrhus set up by his partisans. Indeed, when Pyrrhus entered Peloponnese some of his party in Elis revolted. Sparta, as the ally of Elis, offered the city troops, in order to put down the faction. But the Messenians sent privily a body of troops who, under the guise of Spartans, secured an entry

into the city, and then handed it over to a partisan of their own named Aristotimus, who became despot.

A considerable number of coins seem to have been struck about this time by the Eleans, probably in the intervals of their independence. The careless execution and inferior art of these pieces will not allow us to give them to an earlier period; but they seem, on the other hand, to be distinctly prior to the time of Aristotimus, especially as no name of tyrant or of magistrate occurs on them, and no copper coin goes with them. The head of Zeus (No. 1 obverse) resembles that on the money of the restored Boeotian league, which must have been minted about this time.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus with flowing hair, to right, laureate.
Rev.—**FA**. Eagle standing to right and looking back, wings spread. Didrachm, B.M.
or Rev.—**FAΛEIQN**. Eagle to right on capital. Didrachm, Mr. T. Jones.
or Rev.—**FA**. Same type; in field, thunderbolt. Didrachm, Paris.
2. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus to right, laureate.
Rev.—**FA**. Eagle standing to right; in field, leaf of olive. Hemidrachm.
3. *or Rev.*—**FA**. Eagle standing to right, on meta. Hemidrachm.
4. *or Rev.*—**FA**. Eagle standing to right or left, looking back. Obol.
5. *Obv.*—**FA** (sometimes). Head of Hera to right, wearing stephanos on which is the word **FAΛEIQN**, and earring with three pendants.
Rev.—Eagle standing to left on shield, head turned back, and wings spread; within olive wreath. Didrachm.

6. *Obv.*—**F A**. Head of Hera to right, wearing stephanos adorned with flowers, over which her hair is rolled.
Rev.—**F**. Type as last. Didrachm.
7. *or Rev.*—Eagle standing to right within olive-wreath.
 Didrachm.
8. *Obv.*—**F A**. Head of Hera to right, wearing stephanos.
Rev.—Eagle standing to left on shield, head turned back and wings spread. Hemidrachm.
9. *Obv.*—**F A** (on stephanos or in field). Head of Hera to left, wearing stephanos adorned with flowers.
Rev.—Eagle standing to left, with closed wings, in olive-wreath ; sometimes thunderbolt in field.
 Didrachm.
10. *Obv.*—Head of nymph to right, hair rolled.
Rev.—**F A**. Eagle standing to left and looking back, wings open. Hemidrachm.
11. *Obv.*—As last.
Rev.—**FA** (retrogr.). Eagle standing to right and looking back ; in field, pattern. Obol.

PERIOD XI.—B.C. 271.

Under the last head I have related in what manner the tyranny over Elis came into the hands of Aristotimus. The date of his rule can be only approximately given ; but we know that it almost immediately succeeded the death of Pyrrhus in B.C. 272, and only lasted five months.²¹ What his tyranny wanted in duration it made up in intensity. He collected together a number

²¹ Justin, xxvi. 1.



of mercenaries and assassins, and permitted them to commit every crime and outrage against the inhabitants of Elis; of whom eight hundred fled to the kindred Aetolians for protection. While he was meditating how to get them into his power, Aristotimus was assassinated by a troop of conspirators, among whom was his friend Cylon. His family were ordered to put themselves to death; and the heroism of his two beautiful daughters, attracting the attention of Phylarchus, has been the means of preserving to us this episode in history.

We can scarcely be wrong in assigning to the rule of Aristotimus a number of coins bearing the initials AP and API, and quite of the style of this period; to which, indeed, I had assigned them before I read on them the name of the tyrant. That they are numerous in proportion to the short reign of the issuer is easily explained. A ruler who keeps up a standing army of mercenaries is obliged to strike a great deal of money for their pay; and it is unlikely that Aristotimus, who committed every kind of outrage against the Eleans, would have spared the treasures of Olympia, which lay at his mercy.

With Aristotimus certain novelties are introduced into the coinage. The serpent, instead of being in the claws of the eagle, stands up and faces him (No. 3). Certainly in the history of the tyrant we find vice defying divine punishment; yet we can scarcely suppose that the type was changed in order to give it a meaning so damnatory of the striker of the coin. The appearance of the free horse is also remarkable. In Sicily the free horse appears in the time of Timoleon, and refers to the worship of Zeus Eleutherius, and the recovery of freedom by the Sicilian cities which had been under the yoke of Diony-

sus. We cannot assign any parallel meaning to it in this case.

But Elis was at all times celebrated for her breed of mares; and a usurper like Aristotimus might choose to remind the people themselves and neighbouring cities of the fact. We have now reached a time when other than religious types might make their way on coin.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus with flowing hair to right, laureate.
Rev.— $\begin{matrix} \text{F A} \\ \text{A P I} \end{matrix}$. Eagle, standing erect to right; behind him thunderbolt, and in front wreath.
Didrachm.
2. *or Rev.*— $\begin{matrix} \text{F A} \\ \text{A P} \end{matrix}$. Eagle standing to right on ram's head.
Didrachm.
3. *or Rev.*— $\begin{matrix} \text{F A} \\ \text{A P} \end{matrix}$. Eagle standing to right; in front, serpent erect.
Didrachm.
4. *Obv.*—As last.
Rev.— $\begin{matrix} \text{F A} \\ \text{A P I} \end{matrix}$ or $\begin{matrix} \text{A P} \\ \text{F A} \end{matrix}$. Thunderbolt in olive-wreath.
Hemidrachm.
5. *Obv.*—As last.
Rev.— $\begin{matrix} \text{A P} \\ \text{F A} \end{matrix}$. Free or bridled horse trotting or galloping to right.
Copper.

PERIOD XII.—B.C. 271—191.

There is no reason to suppose that the fall of Aristotimus brought a very real amelioration to the condition of the Eleans. In all probability they continued to pass from one tyrant to another. We know that in the days of Aratus almost all the cities of Peloponnesus were in the hands of despots. The only means of escaping the tyranny of these masters was by joining the Achaean League. But this course was scarcely open to the Eleans,

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By race they were closely connected with the great rivals of the Achaeans, the Aetolians, and seem at all times to have sided with them. And the Aetolian League being united by more frail bonds of union than those which bound together the Achaean cities, it was quite possible for a city to belong to it, and yet retain any form of government to which it was accustomed. Indeed, in the case of cities far from Aetolia, becoming a member of that league meant little but paying a tax to buy off the piratical attacks of the Aetolians. These latter, however, were well disposed towards Elis, and found the Elean fortresses a very convenient place of arms in Peloponnesus, and a base of operations when they wanted to attack an Achaean city.

In the lamentable wars between Sparta and the Achaeans which darkened the last days of Greek independence, Elis was to be found on the Spartan side. In 226 B.C. Aratus led an army to compel Elis to join the league. Cleomenes hastened to the succour of the city, and overthrew the troops of Aratus with great slaughter. But in 191, after Antiochus of Syria had been expelled from Greece by the Romans, the Achaeans renewed their attempts upon Elis; and this time with success. Elis came with great reluctance into the league which now comprised all the cities of Peloponnesus.

It is easy to identify the coins of this period, because the types of Aristotimus are preserved, and the execution degenerates. Almost all the money bears in the field letters which are in all probability the initials of the names of successive tyrants. It is by no means improbable that a more thorough examination of the works of the historians of later Hellas than I have been able to make might enable us to discover, in some cases, the

names of which the coins offer us the first letters. On this attempt I have spent some pains, but without success, for I cannot allow that ΠΥΡ may stand for Pyrrhias, one of the many generals lent from time to time by the Aetolians to their allies of Elis.

It is curious to find in some of the coins detailed below a decided return to the earlier types of the city. The eagle's head of No. 5 may be compared with the same type in Period IV., and in No. 4 we find on both sides of the piece the very types with which our lists began. In justification of the assignment of the present pieces to so low a date, we must mention that their style is very poor; that the magistrate ΣΩ who issued pieces of the type of No. 4 also issued pieces of the type of No. 2; and that the weight of the No. 4 coins is about seventy grains, that is to say, too low for any previous period. We have above mentioned the fact that it is only at the end of the third century B.C. that the weights of the Elean coins begin to fall. By far the most interesting of the new types of the period is the serpent on a capital of a column (No. 11). We must remember that in the Hellenistic age the serpent came into very great honour in the Greek world, both in connection with the mystic rites of Demeter and Dionysus, and as the symbol of the god Asclepius, who daily became more popular. On the early coins of Elis the serpent holds anything but an honourable position, but now he usurps the place of the eagle of Zeus, receiving honour like that which he wins on later coins of Pergamus, Cos, and a host of other cities.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus to right, laureate.

Rev.—F A. Eagle and serpent, erect, facing one another.

In field, ΔI, or thunderbolt and H, or H P.

Didrachm.

2. *Obv.*—As last.
Rev.—**F A.** Eagle to right, standing on meta ; in field, serpent (Leake) thunderbolt, **ΣΩ**, or **A.**
 Didrachm, hemidrachm.
3. *Obv.*—As last.
Rev.—**FA.** Thunderbolt in olive-wreath ; sometimes in field, **AM.**
 Hemidrachm.
4. *Obv.*—Eagle flying to right, holding hare in talons.
Rev.—**F A.** Winged thunderbolt. Drachm.
 Sometimes on *obv.* **Σ**, on *rev.* **ΣΩ** and wreath.
 Drachm, B.M.
 or on *rev.* diota and **AΓ** in mon.
 Drachm, Hunter.
5. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus to right.
Rev.—Eagle's head to right.
 Diobol (23 grs.), Dr. Imhoof-Blumer.
6. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus to right, laureate.
Rev.—**F A.** Eagle to right ; below, **Δ**, &c. ; sometimes all in olive-wreath.
 Copper.
7. *Obv.*—As last.
Rev.—**F A.** Eagle to right with spread wings, struggling with serpent.
 Copper.
8. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus to right, laureate.
Rev.—**FA.** Thunderbolt ; below, **KA.**
 Copper, Paris.
9. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus to left or right, laureate.
Rev.—**F A.** Horse trotting or galloping to left or right ; in field, **ΔΥ**, **EI** and thunderbolt, **ΓΥΡ**, **ΑΡΜΟ**, **ΓΛΟ**, **ΣΑ**, &c.
 Copper.

10. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus to right, laureate ; behind, Δ .
Rev.—**FAAEI**. Horse galloping to right ; below, Δ or **A**.
 Copper.
11. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus to right, laureate.
Rev.—**FA**. Serpent erect to left on capital (meta ?).
 Copper.
12. *Obv.*—Head of Pallas to right, helmeted.
Rev.—**FA**. Winged thunderbolt. Copper, Paris.

PERIOD XIII.—B.C. 191—146.

With the successful attempt of the Achaeans to force Elis into their league the history of the city may be said to end. It was not destroyed in war, for the Achaeans had their way without fighting ; nay, it is probable that the city and district retained a good deal of prosperity in comparison with the neighbouring districts. The Eleans were at all times given to rural employments, to the farm and the stable ; and people in such a case feel less the results of political revolutions. Their land, too, has always been rich and fertile. And more especially the Olympian festival by no means lost its honour amid the decay of freedom, but rather was looked on with more respect. But as a political entity and force the city disappears. The historian has no more to narrate of it, and leaves the subject entirely to the archæologist.

The coins issued by the Eleans as members of the Achaean league are very numerous and varied. They are, so far as is known, in silver only, and bear the usual types of the league.

Obv.—Head of Zeus Homagyrus to right, laureate (in one case to left).

Rev.—Monogram of Achaea within laurel-wreath.
 Hemidrachm, or Corinthian drachm.

The mint-mark of the Elean coins is **FA** and thunder-bolt, or either separately.

These coins fall into two classes : earlier and later.

- (1) Those with monograms or names of magistrates on the reverse only; among them **ΛΥ**, **ΣΩ**, **ΩΝΩΙΑ**, **ΔΩ**, &c.
- (2) Those with magistrates' names on the obverse; among other names those of **ΑΓΡΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ**, **ΔΑΜΑΙΩΝ**, **ΕΠΙΝΙΚΟΣ**, **ΘΡΑΣΥΛΕΩΝ**, **ΚΑΛΛΙΓΡΟΣ**, **ΝΙΚΙΑΣ**, **ΠΑΝΤΙΣΟΣ**, **ΦΙΛΟΜΕΝΙΟΣ**, and **ΚΑ** in monogram.

The weight of these pieces varies ; and, so far as style gives indication, seems to sink steadily. The best and earliest pieces weigh about 38 grains, the worst and latest about 30 grains. Mr. Finlay finds in this fact²² a confirmation of Polybius's complaint as to Greek honesty at this time; but it is right also to make some account of circumstances. If in earlier ages the Eleans had lowered the weight of their coin, it would not have circulated beyond the city, as everywhere it would have rival issues to compete with ; but the money of all the cities of the league being nearly uniform, it would become the policy of every mint to issue money that would just be taken, but contain no superfluous silver. Moreover, the dishonesty of neighbours might compel any state to lower the standard in self-defence.

PERIOD XIV.—B.C. 146—43.

At this time the main currency of Greece consisted of Athenian tetradrachms, coins of Macedonia Romana, and Roman denarii. Elis issued only a few copper pieces. Of

²² Num. Chron., 1866, p. 28.

these there are existing two abundant sets; those which have a wreath on the reverse (No. 1), and those which revive the type of the striding Zeus (No. 2), taking it from the coinage of the Messenians. Dr. Weil informs me that in the course of the recent excavations large numbers of pieces of the latter class were found, very often in company with coins of the earlier Roman emperors, which shows how late their circulation must have continued.

1. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus to right, laureate.

Rev.— $\begin{matrix} \text{FA} \\ \text{AEI} \\ \text{ON} \end{matrix}$ in olive-wreath; sometimes **EY**, **H**, **Π**, &c.
below. Copper.

2. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo to right.

Rev.—**FA**. Zeus naked, striding to right; holds in right hand thunderbolt; on left wrist, eagle. In the field various letters and monograms, **A**, **ME**, **HP** and so forth.

3. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo.

Rev.—**FA**. Eagle (?) within olive-wreath (obscure).
Copper, Paris.

Count Prokesch-Osten, in his *Inedita* of 1854, mentions as belonging to Elis the following copper coins apparently of Roman times:—

Obv.—Head of Zeus to right, laureate.

Rev.—Winged thunderbolt in wreath; and the letters
 $\begin{matrix} \text{AB} & \text{EB} \\ \text{EY} & \text{or AS} \end{matrix}$

These do not bear the name of Elis, but were found there.

PERIOD XV.—B.C. 43—A.D. 217.

The Imperial coins of Elis are less rare than those of most cities of Greece proper. When the results of the late excavations are published in detail, we shall pro-

bably have many new types to add to our list. Certainly we shall find coins of new Emperors, for Dr. Weil tells me that many pieces of the first century A.D. were found, and of these Mionnet knows nothing. No doubt also we shall receive a large addition to the known varieties of autonomous copper coins of earlier periods. Silver pieces were seldom found, or, if found, were concealed by the workmen.

By far the most important of the Imperial types already known are the seated figure and the head of the Olympian Zeus. The full-length figure of Zeus seated recurs on many coins and in various attitudes. The usual one is that which appears on the money of Alexander the Great, and after his time at very many cities. It is also found on the money of Antiochus IV. of Syria. Zeus is depicted as seated on a throne with high back, holding in one hand an eagle or Nike, and in the other a long sceptre. His himation lies about his waist, either leaving the upper part of the body bare or else hanging lightly over the left shoulder. Usually a stool is beneath his feet. This, then, is the usual or conventional figure of Zeus on coins; and no doubt its prototype is to be found in the Zeus of Phidias. Alexander introduced the type on his coins because he claimed the patronage of the Olympian god. Antiochus of Syria specially placed himself under the protection of that deity, giving up in his favour the Apollo of his fathers. The Elean coins complete the circle of evidence. But this figure can only help us in the most general way if we wish to imagine the figure of the Phidian Zeus. It is quite conventional, and in the details coin differs so much from coin that all cannot be right, and it seems very likely that all may be wrong.

There is one coin of Elis issued in the time of Hadrian

which bears a less slight and conventional character. This is the Florentine piece which appears on my last plate (No. 1). In this case we find certain distinct departures from the usual design; and we can have little doubt in concluding that the die-cutter's object was to produce a more faithful copy of the world-famed statue. With this end he threw the figure of Zeus more correctly into profile by making the left arm project in front of the body and not behind it, as previous artists had done in an attempt at perspective. And he evidently tried to improve the type of the head. Also he represented the drapery falling from the left shoulder more clearly than had been done hitherto. In this last respect he has gone too far, and produced a clumsy effect by completely covering the left arm of the god with the mantle. But I regard our coin as a conclusive proof that the himation of Phidias' Zeus did reach his left shoulder; for though our die-sinker had not very great skill, he had no motive for being unfaithful. It is, of course, absurd to suppose that from a figure of this size and this period one can recover many of the minor details of the great statue.

The coin which bears the head of Zeus (No. 3) is unique, and no second one has been found during the excavations. It is certainly a remarkable work, and it is no wonder that it has caused wide differences of opinion. While some writers, among them Overbeck, see in it a faithful imitation, even to detail, of the head of Phidias' statue, and declare the design to be in every way admirable, others, like Stephani,²³ speak very slightly of its merits, and suppose it to resemble very remotely indeed the head of the deity in the temple. It is with great

²³ S. Petersburg Comptes Rendus for 1875; cf. Overbeck's *Kunstmythologie*, vol. ii.

diffidence that I enter at all on the controversy, and I will confine myself closely to its numismatic aspects.

There are on Greek coins two general or leading types for the head of Zeus. They are easily distinguished by the cast of features and the hair. In the earlier type, the features are large and severe, the hair, either short, or if longer, hanging straight. This is no doubt in the main the Phidian type. The best of all specimens is on the coin of Elis (Period III., 1); and less fine examples are found under Period V. In the later type, which we may term the Praxitelean, because it comes in just at the time of that master, the hair is rich and flowing, the facial line less upright, and the features full of energy, but not so majestic. This is the leonine type of Zeus, and prevails henceforward upon coins; and this is the type reproduced on nineteen out of twenty of existing statues and busts. The treatment in this type of hair and feature is, as is generally allowed, quite the contrary of that of the time of Phidias. We find this type also at Elis (Period X., 1); but nothing there equal to the fine Arcadian money.

We must specially mention two sets of coins which bear heads which seem specially intended for that of the Olympic Zeus. The first set is the didrachms of Philip of Macedon. The head on these is in character strikingly like the bearded heads of the Parthenon frieze and of the earlier Athenian sepulchral reliefs; but the expression less calm and dignified, and more full of spirit. The second set is that of the rare tetradrachms of Antiochus IV. of Syria, which present to us in the place of the King's head that of the Olympian Zeus, his guardian deity.²⁴

²⁴ Cat. of Seleucidae, Pl. XI. 9.

This type is very fine for the period ; but the hair is too ornate and the features too insignificant for an exact copy of any work of the time of Phidias.

The head on our coin of Hadrian differs from all these. The piece seems to have suffered from oxidation at the top of the nose and the bottom of the brow, so that the facial line is destroyed. The expression of the features is certainly majestic. But the most noteworthy features are hair and beard, both of which fall in long straight lines. In this respect it is unlike all the coins I have met. On the other hand it appears certain that the engraver of our coin intended to represent accurately the Zeus of Phidias, for what else should have been his intention? To the utmost of his capacity—and the portrait of Hadrian on the obverse shows that he was not unskilful—he endeavoured to imitate his model.

Coins then offer for the determination what was the character of the head of Phidias' statue three sets of monuments :—(1) Coins belonging to the same time and place as the great statue ; (2) coins issued during the fourth and second century B.C., and intended to portray the *Olympic Zeus* rather than any other ; and (3) a coin of the second century A.D. intended for an exact copy of the Phidian head. And at this point I stop ; and having laid the premisses before the readers of the Numismatic Chronicle, refrain from drawing a conclusion, which could only be legitimately reached after a discussion too long for these pages.

There are a few interesting types at Elis besides that of the Olympian Zeus. Under Hadrian a warrior appears, holding a spear and leading a horse. Dr. Friedländer asserts that this is Pelops, and we know that the invading Eleans did appropriate the heroes of their pre-

decessors the Pisatae. On the pediment of the temple of Zeus appears the chariot-race between Oenomaüs and Pelops. But it should be observed that Pelops, when he occurs on the coins of Smyrna and other places, is usually a charioteer; that he should be represented as a horse-man is, to say the least, unusual. Under the same emperor we find a conventional representation of a river god, doubtless Alpheius, who was at Olympia treated with signal honour. In his eleventh Olympic ode Pindar mentions the name of Alpheius in connection with those of the twelve great gods; and in the Altis he shared the altar of Artemis. Artemis also makes her appearance on the coins of Hadrian; not, however, as Limnatis in Peloponnesian form, but as Tauropolos riding on a bull. Other types do not call for special remark.

The Imperial coins of Elis appear to end with Caracalla: inscription **HAEION**.

TYPES OF REVERSE—HADRIAN.

- Figure of Zeus Olympius seated to left; two varieties.
Florence (1) and Berlin (2).
- Figure of Zeus Olympius seated to right. Berlin.
- Head of Zeus Olympius to right (3). Paris.
- Satyr, holding bunch of grapes and pedum. Mionnet.
- Heroic figure (Pelops?) holding a spear in the right hand, and with his left the rein of a horse. Milan.
- River god (Alpheius) reclining, holds in his right hand a wreath, in his left a reed; at his feet an urn with a palm; or holds cornucopiæ and reed.
- Artemis, holding in each hand a torch, seated sideways on bull (?) which gallops to right. B.M.
- Inscription within olive-wreath.
- Eagle facing with spread wings; in beak, wreath. Paris.

TYPES OF REVERSE—MARCUS AURELIUS.

The Emperor on horseback. Mionnet.

TYPES OF REVERSE—SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

Head of Zeus Olympius. (*Rightly described?*) Vaillant.

Head of the Indian Dionysus, ivy-crowned. Mionnet.

Eagle with wings spread ; in beak, wreath.

Inscription in olive-wreath.

TYPES OF REVERSE—CARACALLA.

Zeus Olympius seated to left. B.M.

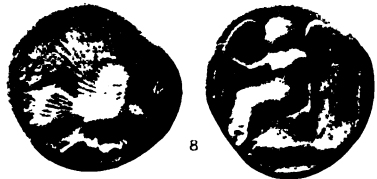
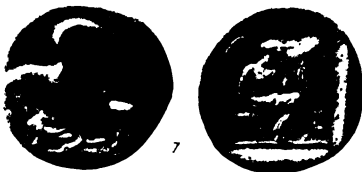
Inscription in olive-wreath.

Before closing this lengthy article I have only to thank M. Chabouillet, of Paris, and Drs. von Sallet and Weil, of Berlin, for casts and valuable information, and more especially, M. Six of Amsterdam and Dr. Imhoof-Blumer of Winterthur, for much and most friendly assistance.





II



II



9^a



9^b



11



12



III



1



2^a



2^b



2^c



2^d



2^e



3^a



3^b



3^c



[IV]



[V]



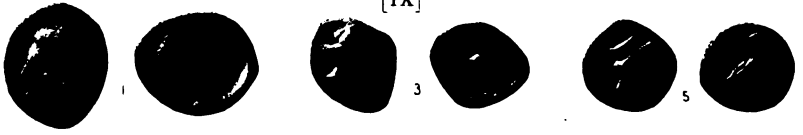
[P I S A]



[VI or VII]



[IX]



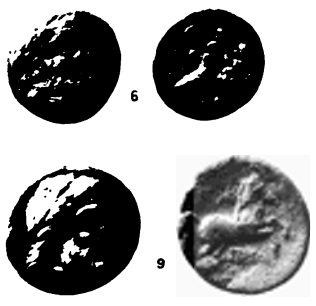
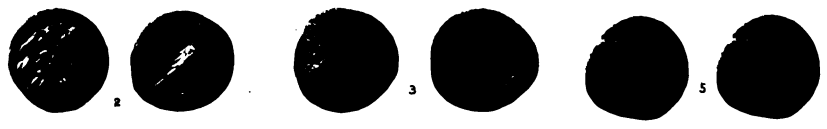
X!



[XI]



[XII]



[XIII]



[XIV]



[XV]



